

SYLLABUS of LECTURES ON THE WAR
and PEACE PROBLEM FOR THE STUDY
of INTERNATIONAL POLITY.

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THE NEED FOR A RATIONAL STUDY, OF INTERNATIONAL POLITY.

The problems of War and Peace, Armaments and national rivalries are perhaps the gravest of all problems confronting mankind at the present time. There is no country, nor a single person to be found—even in the remotest parts of the globe—not more or less profoundly affected by the present world war, the greatest and most devastating conflict in human history. Happily, the large majority of men is desirous of preventing in the future a similar collapse of civilization and is looking forward toward a definite settlement of peace so as to make this the last war. There is a growing realization that wars and military power are opposed to the real social, economic and national needs of each country, and that our civilization and the true welfare of humanity is based upon peace and the activities of peace. It is also generally admitted that armaments with their stupendous cost are great evils which are steadily impeding that rise in the general standard of living which ought to take place, that not only wealth is thus misapplied, but energy and attention is being diverted from ends that would make for human welfare to ends that lead away from it. Wars and excessive armaments also create a condition in which natural and healthy intercourse, industrial and intellectual, between the people of the several nations is kept under restraint.

These are weighty considerations, yet they do not in themselves justify a reduction of armaments on the part of one country, irrespective of what other countries may be doing, neither do they condemn an increase of armaments on the

part of a country which has reason to fear attack from a rival power. But each country imputes to its rival the intention to attack, and arms accordingly. Thus, if it is true that the present war is to a large extent due to the rivalry of armaments, the so-called "militarism" and the mutual fear and distrust created by it, if the increases of armaments go on after this war, as they will unless some new factor appears, again only a spark will be needed to set fire to the inflammable material. Other wars, perhaps more devastating than the present, will follow until humanity itself goes down.

Now, what is this new factor which may bring about those changes that may end war, at least between civilized nations? Is there any reason to believe that a factor which provides the key to the problem has made its appearance?

As mankind progresses from stage to stage it has often happened that changed conditions have brought, all unintended, a remedy for some social ill. Has that occurred in the present instance? During the last half century there have been vast changes in the mechanical structure of society. There have come the locomotive and the steamship, the telegraph and the telephone, and these have rendered possible two of the most outstanding features of modern civilization: the division of industry amongst the nations with its consequent enormous growth of international trade, and the dependence of all industry upon a sensitive and intricate system of credit finance which is international in its interests and operations. What is the effect of these new features upon the problem of international strife?

In his book "The Great Illusion," Mr. Norman Angell advances weighty reasons for believing that they have so linked up the world in bonds of mutual interest that the leading nations are dependent on one another for their prosperity and must share one another's adversity. This war will prove and

perhaps already has proved that nations can no longer be regarded as struggling units having vitally opposed interests. Such is their mutual dependence that in modern times no civilized nation can gain advantage for the mass of its people by the defeat of another nation in war.

But, if it is true that the condition of mutual dependence is an actual accomplished fact, why has not that sufficed to prevent the present war? Because facts have no effect upon conduct until they are known and understood. And sound understanding will not be arrived at by any casual process; there must be real systematic study of the questions involved by all those who perceive the danger of a continuation of the present drift.

It is obviously of the utmost importance, therefore, that the whole question of international relations should be examined and stated afresh in the light of modern conditions. It is important quite as much to those who are mainly concerned to see that the policy of their own country is wisely determined as to those who seek a basis for a future community of nations.

At present the great majority of the public are entirely uninformed in regard to these things; and directly out of that ignorance springs the possibility of dangerous international misunderstandings and of new wars. They take their opinions from others who claim to have given the subject attention, but unhappily these have in the past been themselves under the dominion of the very misconceptions which are at the root of the whole trouble. It would be in the power of no more than a comparatively few well-informed people to set the public mind in a new direction, and hold it steady, despite counter influences, in critical times.

The task is one demanding the earnest attention of militarists and pacifists alike. If wars are inevitable, we ought by all means to know when and whom and under what circum-

stances we should fight, and what the industrial and financial conditions of the struggle will be; for these are highly important factors in modern naval and military strategy.

To those who regard war as a disaster, and who support the demand for an increase of armaments or a definite Naval Standard as a means of preventing it, the course of action here outlined should make special appeal. The real end desired is national security; defence is but one means toward that end. Another at least equally important means is to weaken the motive for attack on the part of the opponent. A rational study of these problems is, therefore, a vital complement to the work of national defence and security.

"While millions of young men are sacrificing their lives in the trenches of Europe, mostly on account of wrong ideas and false conceptions of international relationship on the part of the European statesmen, American students ought to be able to sacrifice at least some of their time and to devote some of their energy to *studying* the problems of war and peace. They should master those ideas that will save the world from a repetition of such a breakdown of civilization in the future."

The lectures as outlined in the following pages are intended to arouse interest in modern pacifism and to show the urgency and importance of this whole problem. Merely to desire or to be in favor of peace is not sufficient for the prevention of wars in the future. The people in Europe, the people of Germany, Austria, Servia, Russia, Belgium, France and Great Britain were and still are just as peace-loving as the people of the United States. There is something needed beyond having the conviction that war is wicked, costly and immoral and that peace is good and moral: militarism with its history, tradition and glorification is rooted so deeply in the institutions and minds of our generation that we cannot hope to free humanity from its worst enemies: *wars and armaments*, un-

less we have a clear knowledge of all psychological and other factors that are the underlying causes of war—and of peace.

We are today in possession of facts which do enable us to crystallize a definite and comprehensive social and political philosophy or science of international relations which reduce the problem to a comprehensible system and to furnish a working hypothesis of a warless civilization. "For," as Norman Angell puts it, "this is certain: merely to disentangle detached facts, merely to express a general aspiration towards better things, is no good, when we are opposed by a system as well-defined and understandable in its motives and methods as is the war system of Europe. To a system like that reposing upon a quite definite philosophy, upon a process which is intelligible to the ordinary man you must oppose, if you hope to replace it, another system, another working hypothesis which you must demonstrate to be more in accordance to facts." To do this, to show what these facts are and to encourage their study and discussion, is the object of these lectures; to contribute toward a general changing of ideas as to the foundations of international society, of militarism and peace—this is what is hoped finally to result from this work.

To promote the study of international relationships and the problems of War and Peace the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Intercourse and Education, proposes to arrange courses of lectures on International Polity in the more important universities of this country during the coming year. The course will consist of 4-6 lectures, to be held either during one week at special evening classes, study-clubs or Peace and War Conferences, or at weekly or fortnightly intervals. Each lecture will occupy 40-50 minutes, the rest of the evening being devoted to discussion and the answering of

questions. The lectures will be given free of charge or at a small nominal charge not exceeding \$1.00 for the cost of organization and literature. The lecture course will be followed by a public meeting or debate on some important aspect of the peace-problem, the great war or the armament question. It is hoped that one result of the lectures will be to place the scientific study of International Polity on a permanent basis. In several large universities like Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Cornell, Syracuse, Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin, International Polity clubs or Study circles are already in existence, and their members, together with a number of trained experts in the field of International Relations, will be asked to assist in promoting the success of the lectures, conferences and discussions. Where no such organization exists, steps will be taken to form one either before or after the lecture course.

A prize of \$100 is offered by the Carnegie Endowment to members of any of these organizations for the best paper on "Moral and Material Factors in International Affairs." (The essay must be mailed before July 1st, 1915, to the American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th Street, New York City. Further details may be obtained there.)

In Summer, probably during the three weeks from June 15th to July 4th, 1915, a *Summer School for International Polity* will be organized, probably at Ithaca, N. Y., under the auspices of the World Peace Foundation (Boston, 40 Mount Vernon Street) for the further discussion of these important problems.

LECTURE I.

HISTORY OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

The Cosmopolitan Ideal among the Greek philosophers.—Jesus Christ: the Prince of Peace.—“Peace of God” and “Truce of God” in the early Middle Ages.—“The Great Design” of Henry IV of France (1589-1610)—Religious peace movements: the Mennonites (about 1534), the Quakers or Friends (George Fox, 1624-1691).—William Penn in Pennsylvania (1693).—The Roman Catholic Church and the Popes—Abbê de Saint Pierre (1713).—J. J. Rousseau (1712-1778).—Benjamin Franklin: On War and Peace (1788).—Immanuel Kant: On Perpetual Peace (1798).—Schiller (†1805).—Comte de Saint Simon (1814).—New York Peace Society: first peace organization (1815).—The organized Peace-movement during the last century.—Peace congresses, societies, literature, publications—The growth of international law.—International rules for war.—Declaration of Paris (1856).—Geneva (“Red Cross”) Convention 1864.—Two Hague conferences 1899 and 1907.—Declaration of London 1909.—The development of international arbitration. Existing treaties of arbitration.—Other peace forces: trade, commerce, shipping, traffic, intercommunication, travelling, emigration and immigration.—The rise of democracy.—Social democracy and the working classes.—Modern currents: Internationalism, private and public unions.—Credit, banking, finance.—The great War and the Peace movement.—*Modern Pacifism*: 1. *The ethical, moral and religious case for peace.*—The Bible.—Tolstoy: “My Religion.”—The “Philosophy of Non-Resistance.”—The church and International Peace.—2. *Economic aspects*: The costs of armaments—Economic losses of wars.—War-debts.—Taxes.—Protection and Free-trade.—

Colonies and conquest.—Foreign trade, exports and imports.—War and poverty.—“War a capitalistic plot.”—The work of Bloch.—Economic loss of compulsory service.—The financial loss of the waste of lives.—3. *The futility of war and military power*.—De Molinari.—Norman Angell and the great Illusion.—Modern facts and old ideas.—Co-operation and physical force.—The fatalistic illusion.—The “unilateral aberration.”—The psychology of armaments.—Armament and peace-insurance.—The impossibility of profitable conquest.—Navies and trade protection.—The failure of military philosophy.—4. *Sociological and biological aspects of war and peace*: Economy of life.—The killing off of the fittest.—Decline of the races.—Warlike nations do not inherit the earth.—The work of Novicow, David Starr Jordan, etc.

LECTURE II.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR AND PEACE.

The importance of the problem.—The “Future of War.”—The underlying causes of wars.—Patriotism, nationalism, militarism, imperialism.—“Right or wrong, my country.”—The glorification of war.—Military philosophy.—Man’s war with nature: the real struggle for existence.—Human nature does not change.—“History always repeats itself.”—“Wars are inevitable.”—Social Darwinism: the misapplication of biological laws.—The natural history of man.—Human progress and evolution.—The development of society.—Civilization, morals and law.—The role of co-operation and labor division.—Modern internationalism and interdependence of nations.—The application of science in the field of international relations.—The importance of mechanical and material forces: traffic, trade, shipping, finance, credit, etc.—The multiplicity and complexity of individual operations involved narrows the field of effective

political control.—Corresponding intellectual division of labor; ideas overlap political divisions.—The “illusions” of the axioms of modern statecraft and diplomacy concerning conquest, expansion, conquest of trade, political control, spheres of influence, etc., and consequently of military power, “might” and “national greatness.”—The futility of physical force.—Altered conditions call for altered conceptions.—Old ideas and modern facts.—The relation between ideas and action.—The wrong terminology concerning peace.—What is modern “Pacifism?”—The need for a science of International Polity.—The true basis for national security and human welfare.—The failure of militarism and the coming victory of Pacifism.—The principle of justice, equality, human rights.—Ethics and morals of Peace.

LECTURE III.

ECONOMIC FACTORS IN MODERN INTERNATIONALISM.

Over what questions do nations come into conflict?—Early nations fought mainly for plunder, slaves, land, tribute.—Roman, feudal, dynastic periods.—The religious wars.—The economic basis of modern wars.—Imperialism and its economics.—Changes wrought by industrial, political and financial revolutions of the nineteenth century.—Modern wealth.—Interdependence of nations.—Wealth intangible.—The futility of conquest.—Are war-indemnities profitable?—What does protect trade?—The export trade of Switzerland.—Trade pursues its own course irrespective of political control of territories.—Economic considerations are now against instead of for warfare.—Are such considerations “sordid”?—The cost of wars.—The costs of armaments and their effect on industry and standard of living.—National debts of the world.—The “Unseen Empire” of Finance.—The question of armament firms.—The “war-trusts” and the “war-trade.”—The “Great Illusion.”

LECTURE IV.

SOME BIOLOGICAL AND RACIAL ASPECTS OF WAR.

What is "War"?—Are wars the natural outcome of the struggle for existence?—Is it true that wars prove which nation is the strongest and fittest?—The result of war not "*survival* of the strongest," but "*killing off* of the fittest."—The biological damage of war.—The "Human Harvest" and the "Blood of the Nation."—The actual loss of lives through wars.—The "economy of men."—The biological influence of armed peace.—Armaments and social welfare.—War and poverty.—The diversion of money, thought and energy of governments and people from ends that would lead toward a betterment of the race to ends that lead away from it.—Do warlike nations inherit the earth?—The biological effects of the Russo-Japanese war on Japan.—Armaments are opposed to and prevent the solution of the most urgent problems and needs of every nation: the fight against disease, infant-mortality, consumption, unemployment, poverty and suffering; they prevent sanitation, hygienics, social reform, education, etc.—The loss of lives through armed peace often greater than through actual war.—The absurdity of racial differences.—The Japanese question.—True democracy (not brotherhood), organization and order will easily overcome racial prejudices and work for the true sociological and biological interests of the human race which for its development needs nothing more than peace, a "world without bloodshed."

LECTURE V.

THE PLACE OF FORCE IN MODERN CIVILIZATION.

I. The diminishing rôle of physical force.—"The state of nature is a state of war" (Hobbes).—"The restriction of

force through the development of law.—The law of might, divine law, natural law, positive law : man made.—The elimination of force through the evolution of states (clans, tribes, confederations, nations, alliances) : conflicts disappear between the parts of the new units.—National law : suppresses force within the nation ; has the sanction of the nation.—International law : (a) in times of peace (b) in times of war : force is put under restriction, but lacks an effective sanction.—Peace is “the duration of law ; the absence of violence in social and political relations. 2. Force not necessarily eliminated entirely.—“Police”-Force, to prevent use of force.—Police and tyranny.—Consent, not force, the basis of government.—Military force for the maintenance of order : strikes ? riots ? revolutions ? Cuba ? India ? Colonies ?—Piracy and raiding.—Armies and navies unlike police : do not draw their authority from community of nations.—Success and failure of navies in securing liberty and co-operation, or peace.—Co-operation and physical force.—Interdependence makes application of force futile.—The shifting of the plane of struggle and conflict.—The misapplication of the biological analogy (Social Darwinism : survival of the strongest).—Pugnacity.—The “philosophy of non-resistance.”—The ethical and moral case against application of force.—The moral equivalent of force : Justice, goodwill, mutual respect for law, property, life.—The fallacy of “the last resort.”—When is war serviceable ?—Relation of defence to attack.—The law of cancellation.—The psychology of brute force and violence.—“Human nature does not change.”—The “fighting instinct” renders war “inevitable.”—Probable result of growing realization of futility of physical force.—The stopping of religious wars.—Sociological tendency of human progress and civilization : the changing of ideas *will* change social conduct and political action.

LECTURE VI.

THE FUTURE OUTCOME: WORLD ORGANIZATION.

What is the practical outcome of the facts previously explained?—Is a Federation of the World possible?—The World State and the Nation.—A “Peace League” of nations.—The problems of an International Congress and Parliament; Arbitration Treaties and an International Court for the settlement of disputes.—The International Police-Force?—The Neutralization of the Seas, Protection of private property at sea, of neutral commerce and of communications.—The neutralization of such maritime trade routes as the Panama, Suez and Kiel canals, the Straits of Gibraltar, Dardanelles, etc.—The Imperial problems in the future.—The difficulty of the racial problems.—What is to become of colonies?—Self-government and the principle of “Home rule all round.”—The form of government in its relation to war and peace.—The growth of democracy.—Women suffrage and peace.—The principles that should govern the settlement of peace after the present war.—The greatest problem of all: How to relieve civilization of the growing waste of energy through wars and armaments without disaster to the nations taking the lead.—The duty of the United States.